

BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

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GAYA.

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BY

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PATNA

SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRINTING,
BIHAR AND ORISSA.

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GAZETTEER
OF THE
GAYA DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

THE district of Gayā, which forms the most southerly portion of the Patna Division, is situated between $24^{\circ} 17'$ and $25^{\circ} 19'$ north latitude and $84^{\circ} 0'$ and $86^{\circ} 3'$ east longitude. It extends over 4,712 square miles, and is bounded on the north by the Patna district, on the east by Monghyr and Hazaribāgh, on the south by the latter district and Palāman, and on the west by Shāhabād, from which it is separated by the river Son. The chief town is Gayā, situated in $24^{\circ} 49' N.$ and $85^{\circ} 1' E.$, which is also the administrative head quarters.

GENERAL
DESCRIP-
TION.

Boundar-
ies.

Origin of
name.

The district includes the greater part of what was known as the district of Bihār until the year 1865, the tract to the south forming part of the district of Rāmgarh. When the Bihār subdivision was transferred to the Patna district in that year, it was felt that it was inappropriate that the district should be called Bihār any longer, and it was given the designation of Gayā from the name of its chief town. According to the Bhāgavata Purāna, Gayā was the name of a king who dwelt in the town in the Tretā-Yuga or silver age; but the more generally accepted legend is that contained in the Vāyu Purāna, according to which Gayā was the name of an Asura or demon of giant size, who by long and austere penance and devotion became so pure and

holy that all who saw or touched him were admitted into heaven. Yama, the lord of hell, jealous of this intrusion on his prerogative, appealed to the gods, pleading that his post was becoming a sinecure. The gods conferred in council, and then visited Gayā, and persuaded the demon to grant his body as a place of sacrifice. To this Gayā assented, and lay down with his head resting where the old city of Gayā now is. Yama then placed a sacred rock (Dharmasilā) on his head, but this was not sufficient to keep the monster quiet, and Brahmā sought Vishnu's aid. Then Vishnu in various forms, as well as many other gods, sat upon the demon to render him motionless, but to no effect. At length Vishnu plied his mighty mace, and quieted the monster for ever, but not until Gayā had obtained a promise that the ground covered by his body, some 10 miles in extent, should be the holiest spot on earth; that the gods should rest there, the locality being known as the Gayā-Kshetra; and that the ancestors of all who offered funeral ceremonies there should be translated straight to heaven.

General
configura-
tion.

Gayā is bounded on the south and south-east by the high lands of the Chotā Nāgpur plateau, from which numerous spurs project into it. Thence a wide alluvial plain stretches away to the north, broken here and there by groups and low ranges of hills or isolated peaks springing abruptly from the level country at their feet. These gradually disappear the further north one goes, and the Jahānābād subdivision is almost entirely a level plain. The whole of this tract is seamed by a number of rivers, which debouch from the southern hills and flow, in more or less parallel courses, towards the Ganges. During the rains they are subject to violent floods; and as the general slope of the country northwards is comparatively rapid, they flow swiftly when in flood, but in the dry season they dwindle into trickling streams or lines of pools in the midst of long expanses of sand.

Natural
divisions.

The district is accordingly divided into two distinct divisions with different physical features. To the south is a region of broken undulating country merging into long ranges of hills, with a wide belt of brushwood jungle at their base. Much of this tract is high and barren, and incapable of cultivation; it is unprotected by irrigation; the soil yields poor and precarious crops, and the population is sparse. The greater part of the

district, however, consists of the flat alluvial plain mentioned above, which comprises the whole of the Jahānābād subdivision and the northern portion of the headquarters, Aurangābād and Nawāda subdivisions. This tract is protected from drought by a wonderful system of indigenous irrigation; it is comparatively densely populated; and, compared with the southern part of the district, it is a region of great fertility. The whole history of Gayā has been determined by the widely different characteristics of these two divisions. The northern portion, which is highly cultivated and extensively irrigated, was in very early times a civilized country and the home of Aryan races; it was part of Magadha, the nucleus of the first great empire in India and the centre of Buddhism for many centuries; and in later years it was the arena of the conflicts of contending armies. The south was long the shelter of aboriginal tribes, and did not yield to the advance of civilization till a late period in the history of the district; it was untouched by Buddhism; it is still thinly peopled, and many of its hill and jungle fastnesses are even now untilled.

The whole of the southern edge of the district is cut up by a number of ridges and spurs projecting from the plateau of Chotā Nagpur, which in a few places attain an altitude of nearly 1,800 feet above sea-level. Beyond these again semi-isolated ranges, outliers from the flanks of the plateau, stand out from the plains, and still further north separate ridges and wholly isolated rocky hills crop up here and there. The most remarkable of these long low outlying ranges is the Ganjās, Bhindās and Jethian range, which extends from near Bodh Gayā north-eastwards for a distance of 40 miles with only two breaks, and rises at the Handia Hill to a height of 1,472 feet. The other ranges seldom exceed 1,000 feet, and few of the isolated peaks are of any great height, the highest being the Maher Hill, which rises to a height of 1,612 feet. In the southern range, however, the hills attain a greater altitude, the Durvāsārhi and Mahābar Hills in the south of the Nawāda subdivision being respectively 2,202 and 1,832 feet above sea-level: the former is the highest hill in the district. Of the other hills, the most noticeable are the Barābar Hills, lying partly in the headquarters and partly in the Jahānābād subdivision; the Hasrā, Pahra and Chikī Hills, the Brahmajuni

HILL
SYSTEM

Hill, which rises some 400 feet above Gayā town, the precipitous peak of Kauwadol, and Lobābar Hill (1,799 feet, in the headquarters subdivision; the Powai, Dugul and Pachār Hills in the Aurangābād subdivision; and Srīngirikh in the Nawadah subdivision.

The appearance of the different hills furnishes some striking contrasts. The hills on the south present the aspect of a series of gentle undulations and spurs gradually rising up into the plateau of Chotā Nāgpur behind. They are completely covered with a soft clothing of vegetation, chiefly of *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*), *kend* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*), and other trees. On the hills scattered over the remainder of the district, the vegetation has gradually been cut down or lost owing to the erosion of the clay, and the rocks and the boulders are in many cases left completely bare. The effect is almost equally picturesque, as the hills stand out in rugged bareness. They are strangely different in colour and form. Some, like the Barābar Hills, are composed of giant black boulders piled one above the other leaving great caverns beneath; others, like Maher, are of red rock, much weathered, with rounded sides and easy slopes; and others again, like the Jethian range, have steep rocky sides mounting to a knife-like ridge at the summit.

Scenery.

The view from the Brahmajuni Hill at Gayā presents a striking picture of a lowland country dotted with hills. On a clear day in the rains the eye travels past the rugged ravines and rocks over-looking Gayā to a country green with crops and groves of palm-trees, with hills rising on all sides from the level plain. To the north the temple-crowned hill of Rāmsilā stands out in the near foreground, overlooking the waters of the Phalgu, and beyond it is the high crag of Pretsilā; in the distance the outline of the Barābar Hills can be seen, and close by them the solitary peak of Kauwadol. To the south-east is a long range of red rock stretching away to the north-east and sinking to the plain near Bodh Gayā, the shrine at which can be seen rising above the surrounding palm-trees; while Maher looms large in the further distance. To the west the landscape shows the imposing contours of the Pahrā Hill, and beyond it one detached hill succeeding another; and to the south a long wall of hills bounds the horizon so far as the eye can see.

Among these hills are several picturesque waterfalls, the most beautiful of which are the falls of the Mohāna and the waterfall at Kakolat in the long ridge running from east to west 10 miles south of Nawādah. The falls of the Mohāna are just beyond the border of the district, but can easily be reached from Kahudāg; the first at Tamāsin are situated at the head of a deep valley, where the river plunges abruptly down a high steep face of black rock into a shady pool below, and then dashes down a gloomy gorge of strangely contorted rock; the lower falls at Hariakhāl present a scene of more placid beauty, as here the river, issuing through a picturesque glen, glides down a sloping slide of red rock into a still, large pool surrounded by high wooded banks. At Kakolat a hill torrent tumbles down a long series of cascades, buried in thick woods and extending far up the side of the hill till it makes a final leap over a precipice some 90 feet high near the foot of the crag, and then hurries down over a rock-strewn bed to the plains below.

Water-falls.

With a few exceptions, the rivers of Gayā are hill streams, taking their rise in the highlands of the Chotā Nāgpur plateau and flowing across the district from south to north in more or less parallel courses. To the west is the Son, forming the boundary of the district, and then come the Pūnpūn, Adrī, Madār, Dhāwā, Morhar, Jamunā, Phalgu, Paimār, Dhādhar, Tilaiyā, Dhanārjī and Sakrī. The only rivers which reach the Ganges are the Son and the Pūnpūn, the latter of which, after leaving Gayā, passes through the district of Patna and falls into the Ganges a few miles below Patna city. The others are mostly used up in the network of *pains* or artificial water-channels used for purposes of irrigation, expending themselves before joining the Ganges, or mingling in a huge *jhāl* in the Bārḥ subdivision of the Patna district. The Pūnpūn, Dhāwā, Jamunā, and Paimār rise below the hills and have deep clayey beds, but most of the others have beds of pure sand and low sloping banks, though in the hilly portion of their course their beds are rocky and their banks are steep and abrupt. Torrents during the rains, they carry down with them quantities of gravel and fine sand which they deposit lower down; and their beds being thus raised, they are well adapted for irrigation. This system of irrigation is perpetually modifying their courses, and the result is that many of the

RIVER SYSTEM.

channels given in Rennell's map of Bengal in the 18th century cannot now be traced. The sudden rise and fall of these rivers is remarkable. After heavy rain in the hills, they become swollen torrents, but they fall as rapidly as they rise and become fordable again within a few hours. Their beds are so sandy and the current is so rapid that within a few months, sometimes within a few weeks, after the cessation of the rains, they are almost dry, and for the rest of the year they are reduced to tiny rivulets winding in tortuous courses over wide sandy beds. The most turbulent of these rivers is the Sakri, but they are all liable to violent floods, and in spite of their great breadth occasionally overflow their banks. A short account of the most important of these rivers is given below.

The Son.

The principal river is the Son, which rises, near the sources of the Nabadā and Mahānadi, on the elevated plateau of Central India. After a course of 325 miles through a high rocky tract, it debouches upon the Gangetic valley opposite Akbarpur in Shahabād. It then runs a straight course of 100 miles through the plains of South Bibār, and finally joins the Ganges 10 miles north of Maner between Arrah and Dinapore. The Son nowhere enters the district, but bounds its whole length to the west. It first touches on Gayā opposite Akbarpur about 400 feet above the sea, and then running south, passes Bārun, Dāūdagar and Arwal, and after that leaves the district. At Bārun it is crossed by the massive masonry dam which supplies a head for the Son Canals, and by the great bridge over which runs the Mughalsarai-Gayā section of the East Indian Railway.

During this portion of its course it attains a great width, which generally exceeds 2 miles and in places amounts to 3 miles; and another peculiarity of these lower reaches is the height of the eastern bank, where the strong westerly winds which prevail during the hot weather heap up the sand from the river-bed to a height of 12 or 14 feet above the level of the country, covering the bank with sandy barren dunes, and forming a natural embankment for many miles. But the most noticeable features of its course through the plains are its meagre stream of water at ordinary times as compared with the enormous breadth of the river-bed, its vast size, and its paroxysmal violence at periods of flood. Seen in the dry season, about April or May, the bed

presents a wide stretch of drifting sand with an insignificant stream of water, barely 100 yards wide, meandering from bank to bank, and fordable in most places. But in the rainy season, and specially after a storm has burst on the plateau of Central India, the river presents an extraordinary contrast. It drains a hill area of 21,300 square miles, *i.e.*, a tract more than four times as extensive as the district of Gayā; the entire rainfall of this enormous catchment basin requires to find an outlet by this channel; and after heavy rain the river rises with incredible rapidity. The channel frequently proves unable to carry off the total flood discharge, amounting to 830,000 cubic feet per second, and the flood waters rush down so violently as to spill over its broad bed, and occasionally cause disastrous inundations in the low-lying plains on either side. These heavy floods are however of short duration, hardly ever lasting more than four days, after which the river rapidly sinks to its usual level.

The Son receives no tributaries of any importance from the point where it enters the district up to Bārun, where its waters are distributed east to the Gayā and Patna districts, and west to Shāhabād through the great irrigation system of the Son Canals; and between Bārun and its junction with the Ganges, the drainage sets away from it, so that no stream can join it north of that place. Its bed consists almost entirely of sand; but in a few parts clay is found and cultivated, and nodular limestone is also obtained in several places. Below the junction of the Koel a species of small pebbles or agates is found, many of which are ornamental and take a good polish; most of them consist of silica, both opaque and diaphanous, of a reddish or dark-green tinge. In the Ain-i-Akbari the Son is said to have the power of petrifying substances thrown into it, and to contain many *sāligrām* stones. During the dry season there are many fords, but ferry boats generally ply for eight months in the year. The fall of the river-bed below Akbarpur varies only from 1.75 to 2.80 feet a mile, but at several places above Bārun rocks and rapids effectually stop river traffic. In its lower reaches also navigation is intermittent and of little commercial importance. In the rainy season native boats of large tonnage occasionally proceed for a short distance up-stream under favourable circumstances of wind and flood; but navigation is rendered dangerous by the extraordinary violence

of the floods, and during the rest of the year is impossible for any but small boats owing to the small depth of water. The principal traffic is in bamboos and timber. The former are floated down, bound into rafts consisting of 10,000 or more lashed together—a tedious process in the dry weather, as they are constantly grounding, and the many windings of the stream render their progress extremely slow.

The Son possesses historical interest as being probably identical with the ErannoBoas, which is mentioned by Megasthenes as “the third river in all India and inferior to none but the Indus and Ganges, into the latter of which it discharges its waters”. ErannoBoas appears a manifest corruption of the Sanskrit *Hirany-abāhu* or golden-armed, a name formerly given to the river and apparently derived, like the name Son (the river of gold), from the golden colour of the sand it brings down in flood. It formerly flowed far to the east and joined the Ganges near Fatwā in Patna district; and the ancient town of Palibothrā or Pataliputra (corresponding to the modern Patna) was situated at its confluence with the Ganges.

The old course* of the river may still be traced across the district in a sandy depression forming a series of *jhāils* in the rainy season. From Daūdānagar it swept round to the north-east as far as Soubhadr on the river Pūnpūn. From this place it followed the present course of the Pūnpūn, being joined by the Morhar about 4 miles to the west of Jahānābād, and then flowed to the north, finally joining the Ganges at Fatwā. It has gradually receded westwards, and made fresh channels for itself. In some old documents of the Delhi Empire, Nadi, a village in the Arwal thāna on the edge of one of these channels, which is now 10 miles from the river, is described as Nadi on the bank of the Son; and traces of old courses were noticed by the officers engaged in the construction of the Patna-Gaya canal, one of which was used in laying out its line. Old river-beds have also been found between Bankipore and Dinapore, and Mr. Twining, who was Collector of Shāhābād in 1801—04, mentions that in his time the river broke through the eastern bank in high flood and, flowing

* For a more detailed account of the old course of the Son, see Reports Arch. Surv. India, vol. viii, pp. 6—8.

along what was recognized as its old channel, inundated the cantonment of Dinapore.

To the east of the Son the next river is the Pūnpūn, which rises in the extreme south of the district, and flows towards the Ganges in a north-easterly course, more or less parallel to that of Son. It is the only river running through the district which retains water throughout the year, and even in the dry season there is always some stream. Its water is extensively used by the adjacent villages for irrigation, and it is dammed at several places for this purpose, the principal *bāndh* or dam being at Kusreh in the Jahānābād subdivision, where it gives a head of water sufficient to irrigate a number of villages on its western bank. The Pūnpūn.

The Pūnpūn receives many small feeders on its right bank, of which the Dhawā, Bātāne and Madār are the chief. These streams dry up during the hot weather; and even when full, the greater part of their water never reaches the Pūnpūn, being dispersed over the fields by artificial channels. Other tributaries of the Pūnpūn do not join it in this district. The principal of these is the Morhar, which, coming from the south, flows northwards past the town of Sherghāti, where the Grand Trunk Road is carried over it on two fine bridges spanning the two arms into which it here divides. After passing Tekāri it bifurcates; one branch taking a northerly direction to the district of Patna, while the easternmost, called the Dardhā, flows by Jahānābād, and during the rainy season floods a large tract of country round that place. Some high land to the north forces the excess of water to disperse itself over this part of the district, and it only reaches the Pūnpūn during high flood. The next stream, the Jamunā, flows from the south, between Gayā and Tekāri; then turns east, passing the Patna-Gayā Road at Makhdumpur, and flows on beyond Tehta, when it twists back and joins the Dardhā at Jahanabad.

The Pūnpūn is a sacred river, and it is the duty of the pilgrim to Gayā to shave his head on its bank and bathe in its waters on his way to the holy city.

The Phalgu, flowing north and south, intersects the district. It is formed by the junction, some 2 miles below Bodh Gayā, of the Nilsjan and the Mohāna—two large hill streams, each of which is over 300 yards wide. The united stream flows on to the north past the town of Gayā, where it attains a breadth of over 900 The Phalgu.

yards. The Phalgu here impinges on a high rocky bank, on the steep sides of which are many *ghāts* leading down to the river-bed, while high above are the Vishnujād temple, with many minor shrines, and the houses of the Gayāwāls. It then runs in a north-easterly direction for about 17 miles, and opposite the Barābar Hills it again takes the name of Mohāna, and divides into two branches, which eventually flow into a branch of the Pūnpūn.

The Phalgu, like the confluent streams of the Mohāna and Nilajan, is subject to high floods; but of all three rivers the Mohāna is perhaps the most turbulent. The stone causeway by which it is crossed at Dobbī, which itself replaced a bridge destroyed during a heavy flood, has several times been wrecked; and further north the river has frequently overflowed its banks. When in high flood the Phalgu reaches up to the flooring of the wooden bridge at Gayā, and traffic has occasionally to be suspended; but at other seasons of the year it is nearly dry, and dwindles to an insignificant stream wandering through a wide expanse of sand dotted here and there with stagnant pools. A great part of the water is however diverted for the purpose of irrigation, and is distributed among the fields by a series of irrigation channels, the most important of which is the Jamuāma *gain*, opposite the Barābar Hills, which has converted the whole of the Jamuāma Malāl into rich paddy-fields.

The portion of its course flowing by Gayā is sacred to the Hindus; it is the first holy site visited by the pilgrim, and here his first offerings must be made for the souls of his ancestors. According to the Gayā Mahātmya, the Phalgu is the embodiment of Vishnu himself. One tradition states that it formerly flowed with milk, and another states that Sita offered *pinda* on its banks to Dasaratha, the father of Rāma. The story runs that the spirit of Dasaratha, warned to make haste ere the gates of heaven were closed, appeared to Sita in the absence of Rāma and begged her to offer *pindas* on his behalf. Having no rice, she made a *pinda* of sand; and in order to justify her doing this instead of Rāma, she invoked the Phalgu, a Brāhman, a *tulsi* plant and a banyan-tree as witnesses that the rite had been duly performed. The banyan-tree alone was true to the trust; and as a punishment for its faithlessness, the Phalgu river was cursed and doomed to flow in a desert of arid sand.

To the east of the Phalgu the district is drained by number of parallel rivers, of which the largest are the Dbādher, Tilaiyā, Dhanarji, Khurī and Sakri. These five rivers have all broad sandy beds, the width of the four first named, where they are crossed by the Gayā-Nawāda Road, being 1,050, 425, 384 and 940 feet respectively. They are extensively used for irrigation, and all unite, under the name of Panchana, near Giriak in the Bihār subdivision.

The greater part of the district is occupied by the Gangetic alluvium, but older rocks rise above its level, chiefly in the south and east. These rocks are composed for the most part of a foliated gneiss, consisting of a great variety of crystalline rocks forming parallel bands and known in the geological nomenclature of India as the Bengal gneiss, a subdivision of the Archaean system which contains the oldest rocks of the earth's crust. Scattered at intervals amidst the Bengal gneiss, there are in the east of the district several outcrops of another very ancient series, resembling that described in Southern India under the name of Dhārwar schists, and constituting another subdivision of the Archaean system. Owing to the predominance of massive beds of quartzite, these beds stand out as abrupt ridges, the principal being the long range stretching from near Bodh Gayā to Rājgir and the hills in the south-east of the district. Not only are these rocks everywhere altered by 'regional metamorphism', caused by the great pressure that has thrown them into close-set synclinal and anticlinal folds as expressed by the elongated shape of the ridges and high dips of the strata with the inducement of slaty cleavage, but they have further been affected to a great extent by 'contact metamorphism' from the intrusion of great masses of granite and innumerable veins of coarse granitic pegmatite, by which the slates have been further transformed into crystalline schists. In its more massive form the granite is relatively fine-grained and very homogeneous, and it weathers into great rounded hummocks that have suggested the name of "dome-gneiss," by which it is sometimes known, though the term "dome-granite" would be more appropriate. But it is the narrow sheets of the same

GEOLOGY.*

* The account of the Geology of Gayā was supplied by Mr. E. Vredenburg, Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

intrusive group, where they cut across the metamorphosed schists as excessively coarse granitic pegmatites, that are of most practical importance on account of the mica which they contain, the south-east corner of the district being situated in the middle of the rich mica-bearing belt of Bengal. The Rājgir Hills consisting of slaty schists and quartzites are less metamorphosed, but contact effects are well seen in the Maher hill, and in the detached spurs forming the south-western continuation of the Rājgir range near Gayā, where idols and utensils are extensively wrought from the soft serpentinous rock of the converted schists.

The Taleher rocks, which constitute the basement beds of the coal-bearing Gondwana series, are seen at the small village of Gangti, 20 miles south-west by west of Sherghāti, and 4 miles west by south of Imānganj, in the bed of the Morbar river, where they occupy a small outcrop entirely surrounded by alluvium. This outcrop is of great interest as indicating the possibility of coal-measures existing beneath the alluvial formation in this part of the Gangetic plain.

BOTANY.

The alluvial country which forms the greater portion of the district presents in its botanical features a great contrast to the hilly tracts to the south. In the former sugarcane, poppy, rice and a great variety of other food-crops are extensively grown; the area under cultivation is bare or dotted over with clumps of bamboos and mango orchards; while the villages are frequently surrounded by groves of palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*) and date-palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*). Numerous more isolated examples of *Tamarindus*, *Odina*, *Sapindus* and *Moringa* also occur, associated with which one frequently finds in village shrubberies *Glycosmis*, *Clerodendron*, *Solanum*, *Jatropha*, *Trema*, *Streblus* and similar semi-spontaneous and more or less useful species. In the rice-fields which cover the low-lying lands, the usual weeds of such localities are found, such as *Ammannia*, *Utricularia*, *Hygrophila* and *Sesbania*. Elsewhere a dry scrub jungle is sometimes met with, of which the principal species are euphorbiaceous shrubs, *Butea* and other leguminous trees, and various examples of *Ficus*, *Schleichera*, *Wendlandia* and *Gmelina*. The grasses clothing the drier parts are generally of a coarse character, such as *Andropogon contortus*, *aciculatus*, *annulatus*,

foveolatus and *perlusus*, *Aristida Adscensionis*, *Tragus racemosus*, *Ischaema laxum*, various *Anthistria*, and *sabai* grass (*Ischaema angustifolium*). Throughout this tract the mango (*Mangifera indica*), *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*), and banyan (*Ficus indica*) are common, the other principal trees being the *bol* (*Aegle Marmelos*), *nīm* (*Melia Azadirachta*), *siris* (*Mimosa Sirissa*), *sisu* (*Dalbergia Sisoo*), jack-fruit tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) and red-cotton tree (*Bombax malabaricum*).

In the hills a different class of vegetation is met with. The solitary peaks and ranges, which break the surface of the level plain in the heart of the district, have been almost entirely denuded, but they are still clothed to some extent with low thorny scrub-wood and masses of cactus, which make the ascent by any but frequented paths a tedious process. On some of the hills, such as the Barābar Hills, there are a number of flowering shrubs and creepers, and after the rains the rocks are covered with graceful festoons of *spirea*. Further south the cultivation is less extensive, the groves of palms near the villages are larger, and the bush jungle is more plentiful; it becomes a long belt of brushwood under the hills, stretching away from east to west, and studded in places with a number of stately trees, sole survivors of a former forest, which give it a park-like appearance. It rapidly passes into a submontane forest, extending up the slopes that lead to the edge of the table-land of Chotā Nagpur, and resembling in many of its features the forest clothing the foot-hills of the Himalayas. This forest consists of stunted trees of no great height or girth, and it yields no timber of any size. But it is the main source from which the fuel-supply of the district is derived, and it is also rich in jungle products, from which the denizens of the jungle obtain a livelihood. The *kend* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) yields the ebony of commerce; lac is obtained from the *palās* (*Butea frondosa*); *tusār* silk-worms feed on the *āsān*-tree (*Terminalia tomentosa*); and the long coarse *sabai* grass is made into a strong twine. Perhaps, however, the most useful of all the trees which clothe the hills and the undulating slopes at their base is the *makua* (*Barrisa latifolia*) which yields food, wine, oil and timber, and affords the lower classes a ready means of subsistence in times of dearth. From the flowers the common country spirit is distilled, and

whether fresh or dried they furnish the poorer classes with wholesome food; from the fruit is pressed an oil largely used for the adulteration of *ghī*; and the tough timber is used for the naves of cart-wheels.

FAYVA.*

The carnivora of the district comprise tiger, leopard, bear, hyena, wild dog, wolf and other smaller species. The ungulata are represented by *sāmbār* (*Cervus unicolor*), spotted deer (*Cervus axis*), barking deer, *nīlgai* (*Boselaphus tragocamelus*), antelope, gazelle, four-horned antelope and wild pig.

Tigers (*Felis tigris*) inhabit the jungles of the southern ranges bordering on Hazaribāgh and Palāmau. They are not very numerous, but wander a great deal; one or two, however, may always be met with in certain favoured localities, such as Nawādih near Kauwakoi, Dubaur, Singar, Dhanwa, Dhangain, Pinra near Sherghāti and Delho-Kachanpur near Deo. Man-eaters are unfortunately very destructive at times, and for years past a family of these brutes has haunted the range of hills between Gobindpur and Kauwakoi in the Nawāda subdivision, where they have killed over 100 human beings in the last 5 years. Several have been trapped in pits by local zamīndārs, one of which may be seen in the Zoological Gardens at Calcutta, and two or three have been shot, but villagers are still carried off while grazing their cattle or cutting wood. The range covered by these pests is so extensive and the jungle so heavy that it is impossible to beat them out, and the only means of destroying them is trapping or sitting over kills. As an instance of the wandering habits of these tigers, it may be mentioned that about 1877 and again in 1904 a tiger has been found lying up in crops close to Nawāda, 15 miles from the nearest heavy cover and 9 miles from the nearest hills. In the first instance the unfortunate Subdivisional Officer was killed, in the last his successor got off with a few rather serious scratches. Leopards (*Felis pardus*) are very numerous and commit great havoc among cattle and goats. The numerous isolated trap-rock hills dotted over many parts of the district, such as those at Pattharkati, Khisrarai, Rafiganj, Wasiganj, the Barabar Hills and the hills at Gaya itself, are their favourite resorts, one or more being almost invariably located in each, but the larger hill ranges also give

* I am indebted to Mr. F. J. R. Field, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, Gaya, for the account of the Fauna of Gaya.

shelter to many. Their depredations are chiefly confined to cattle, goats and dogs, but one or two instances have been recorded of leopards which have taken to man-eating. On the hills surrounding Gayā itself no less than 16 have been shot within the last 15 years, and their tracks are sometimes seen on the roads of the station. As an instance of their boldness near Gayā, it may be mentioned that in one case a leopard jumped on a man drawing water from a well in a compound on the outskirts of the town, and both fell down the well together, the man being pulled out and the leopard shot. On another occasion a leopard appeared one evening on the golf links, but was scared away by one of a party playing there.

Hyenas (*Hyæna striata*) are very common, almost every trap-rock hill holding one or more. They do not as a rule do much damage, living chiefly on carrion, but they occasionally carry off goats and dogs, and one case is cited of a female hyæna attacking a wood-cutter and mauling him so badly that he died of blood-poisoning. Bears (*Ursus melanurus*) are also numerous in all the jungly tracts along the hills and jungles; and many instances are known of their attacking wood-cutters and mauling them terribly. One authenticated case occurred in which a goat which had been tied up for a leopard was killed and eaten by a bear and her cubs. On a second goat being tied up, the bear was shot as she attacked it. They are very numerous during the time the *mahua*-tree is in flower, when four or five may be seen in the moonlight feeding under the trees. Wolves are not very numerous, but certain localities nearly always contain a pair or two. They do great damage to goats and sheep, the latter in particular, but in this district they never attack human beings or even children. Wild pig (*Sus cristatus*) swarm in some of the hills, such as Maher and the range running from Giriak to Mora Tal near Bodh Gayā, and are the cause of heavy damage to the ryots' crops. They come down nightly in great numbers, and no efforts to scare them away have any effect. The thick thorn-hedges which the ryots put round their crops afford no protection against their ravages, as the pigs go through these without hesitation, and even firing off of guns only moves them from one patch to another. They are literally a scourge to the villages lying under these hill ranges, and during the time the rice crop is ripening each plot has to be guarded by night watchers. In these two ranges they

multiply exceedingly, owing to the fact that there are none of the larger carnivora, except a few leopards, to keep them down. The larger hills to the south have comparatively few wild pigs, owing to the number of wild dogs and tigers. A few are caught by low-caste villagers in pits, and, as they cannot be driven out of their hill fastnesses, pig-ticking is impossible. Wild dog (*Cyon dukhunensis*) are numerous along the southern range of hills, where they do great damage to deer, which, partly for this reason, are on the decrease. Of late years also they have taken to killing cattle and goats, and as no rewards are given for their destruction, the natives will not shoot them, and European sportsmen very seldom come across them.

Sāmbar (*Cervus unicolor*) are not very plentiful, and are only found on the higher ranges along the southern boundary. Their horns run to a very fair size, an ordinary head being over 30 inches. Spotted or chital deer (*Cervus axis*) are only found in certain localities, and are not very numerous. They are steadily on the decrease, as they are largely shot by local shihāris over water in the hot season. Barking deer (*Cervulus muntjac*) are rare, but are occasionally met with in the jungles of the southern hills. Four-horned antelope (*Tetracerus quadricornis*) are also rare. They frequent the same localities as barking deer, and are generally met with when beating for or stalking sāmbar. Nilgai (*Beelaphus tragocamelus*) are only common in a few localities, such as the big grass chārs of the Son river, but two or three are found here and there along the foot-hills of the southern range. Antelope or black buck (*Antelope cervicapra*) were formerly very numerous, all the high cultivated tānr lands holding big herds, but they are now fast disappearing. Where herds of 60 to 100 were once met with only 5 to 10 are now to be seen. Gazelle or ravine deer (*Gazella bennetti*) are fairly numerous along the broken ground at the foot of the southern hills.

Birds.

The game birds of the district consist of jungle, spur and pea-fowl, grey and black partridge, common rain, lutton, bustard and bush quail, and sand grouse (*Pteroclorus crustus* and *Ptericles fasciatus*). Lesser florican are occasionally seen, and one great bustard has been shot. Two varieties of geese are found, the grey-lag and bar-headed, and among ducks the red-headed and white-eyed pochard, pintail and gadwall are most numerous. Wildgeese

are rare, but the spotted-bill breed in the *chars* of the Son river. Besides these, the following are found : the shoveller, ruddy sheldrake, common blue-winged teal, whistling teal, cotton teal and the comb duck, the last three breeding here. Snipe of four varieties and golden plover are met along the Son, and kulan (*Grus communis*) and demoiselle crane (*Anthropoides virgo*) frequent the same locality. One Siberian crane (*Grus leucogeranus*) was shot some years ago. Most of the usual waders are met with.

The Son contains *būali*, *tengrā*, *bachuā*, *rahū*, and other small fish, and *makkeer* and *kilsā* are said to pass up when the river is in flood. The large tanks are stocked with *rahū*, *maini*, *katla*, etc. The fish-eating alligator or *gariāl* is common in the Son, as well as the mugger or snub-nosed crocodile, which also haunts large deep reservoirs in one or two localities. Fish.

The climate of Gayā is generally dry and bracing. It enjoys a long cold weather, which commences early in November and ends with the close of March, when the hot weather sets in with strong west winds, which blow until the end of May. Soon after this, the rainy season commences and lasts till the end of September ; but as the beginning of this season occurs when a storm from the Bay of Bengal passes over Bihār, the commencement of the monsoon may be as early as the last week of May and as late as the first or second week of July. In the cold weather it would be difficult to find a more delightful climate. CLIMATE.

The days are bright and warm, and the sun is not too hot ; as soon as it has set, the temperature falls, and a fire is at once a comfort and a necessity. The minimum temperature recorded at this season of the year is 38°·9 (January 8th, 1874). In the hot weather Gayā is the hottest place in Bengal. There is a fierce dry heat, which makes it almost compulsory for the European residents to sleep in the open, and the temperature has been known to rise as high as 116°·2 (June 18th, 1878). There is generally a strong west wind at this period, blowing from the sun-baked plains of Hindustān, which parches up all vegetation and raises immense clouds of dust ; but this wind, in spite of its fierce heat, is a boon to the inhabitants, as the interior of the houses can be kept cool by means of screens of scented grass (*śhar-śhar tattis*), placed at the doors and windows and kept constantly wet. When this wind fails or gives place to an east

wind, the air is moist and enervating, and the heat is extreme. In the rains humidity is comparatively low, and Gayā is as agreeable a station as any at that period of the year.

Temperature
and humidity.

Owing to its distance from the sea Gayā has greater extremes of climate than the south and east of the Province. Mean temperature varies from 64° in January to 93° in May, the average maximum temperature rising to 105° in the latter month. Owing to the hot and dry westerly winds which prevail in March and April, humidity is much lower at this season than at any other time of the year and averages only 51 per cent. of saturation. With the approach of the monsoon season, the air slowly becomes more charged with moisture, and humidity remains steady at from 84 to 87 per cent. throughout July and August. In September, when periods of fine weather alternate with the cloud and rain of the monsoon, humidity is lower; and with breaks of increasing length it gradually falls and reaches a minimum of 70 per cent. in November. There is then a slight increase, partly owing to the unsettled weather caused by the cold-season disturbances.

Winds.

From October until May the prevailing direction of the wind is from the west, but a marked change takes place with the commencement of the monsoon, which is generally caused by the first cyclonic storm which enters from the Bay of Bengal. The flow of the moist winds from the Bay is northwards over the eastern districts of Bengal proper, but afterwards they trend to the west owing to the barrier interposed by the Himalayan range; so that after the passage of the cyclonic storms, easterly and south-easterly winds set in and continue with but little interruption until the middle of September, when westerly winds again become common.

Rainfall.

During the months from November to May, fine dry weather prevails, with an almost entire absence of cloud and rainfall; and only a fraction of an inch of rain falls monthly. In normal years the monsoon breaks in June; and the heaviest rainfall occurs in July and August, varying from 12.1 inches in the former to 11.8 inches in the latter month. From the middle of September the monsoon current begins to fall off in strength; and if the westerly winds are stronger than usual, the storms coming inland from the Bay of Bengal recede eastwards, and rainfall is consequently deficient.

Statistics of the rainfall at the various recording stations are given below for the cold weather (November to February), the hot weather (March to May) and the rainy season (June to October). The figures shown are the averages recorded from the earliest year in which rainfall was systematically registered up to the end of 1905 :—

STATION.	Years recorded.	November to February.	March to May.	June to October.	Annual average.
Gayā	39-41	1.79	1.80	33.35	43.94
Arwal	15-16	2.00	1.96	38.75	42.71
Aurangābād	30-31	1.72	1.80	41.78	45.30
Dāūd-nagar	14-16	1.68	1.11	37.62	40.41
Jahānābād	28	1.70	1.84	40.33	48.87
Nawāda	30-31	1.66	2.26	30.60	44.41
Pakribarāwān	15-16	1.54	1.70	38.46	41.70
Rajauli	12-16	1.84	2.21	41.08	45.08
Sherghāti	14-16	1.63	1.34	38.28	41.25

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

"To the present day," writes Dr. Grierson,* "the Gayā district is composed of two tracts—a northern and southern, with very distinct characteristics. The northern half of the district, together with the Patna district, is known as Magah, a corruption of Magadha, and is well irrigated and fertile. The southern half, which still locally bears the name of Rāmgarh, commences about 10 miles south of Gayā town, and is still imperfectly irrigated and covered with forests. Magah represents the ancient Magadha which received Aryan civilization from the north and west and was the area from which Buddhism spread over India. Rāmgarh has received such civilization as it has got in latter years, from the south and south-west. Magah to the present day is a Buddhist country. It is covered with ruins of temples, and, in frequent fields, Buddhist images are turned up by the plough. Buddhism never seems to have penetrated Rāmgarh. Indeed, during the time of Magadha sovereignty, that country must have been a dense forest inhabited only by wild tribes and by a few solitary hermits—outpost of Aryan civilization. The country is dotted here and there with rude forts which local tradition attributes, and no doubt rightly attributes, to the Kols or wild aboriginal tribes of Central India. In later years clearances were effected in it by enterprising immigrants from Rājputāns, who were the ancestors of such Rājput families as those of Deo and Chandragarh. By them the south of the district has been brought into civilization, but this 'zilla Rāmgarh' saw no Buddhist civilization and has no Buddhist remains. Magah is Buddhist, ancient, highly cultivated and thickly populated; Rāmgarh is Hindu, modern, half-cultivated and sparsely populated." In these words Dr. Grierson sums up the different characteristics of the southern and northern portions of Gayā, and his account clearly shows the difficulty of giving a connected history of the district as a whole. For the history of

* Notes on the District of Gayā, pp. 3-4.

Magadha there are ample materials, whereas there are no records referring to the southern tract until comparatively recent times. There is no notice of Rāmgarh even in the chronicles of the Muhammadan historians, and it was regarded by them merely as part of Jhārkhand, *i.e.*, the jungle tract—a vague term given to the territory extending from Bīrbhūm and Pānchet to Ratanpur in Central India and from Rohtāgarh in Shāhābād to the frontier of Orissa. While therefore the northern part of Gayā has a long record stretching back to very early times, the south of the district is practically a land without a history.

Gayā was occupied in prehistoric times by aboriginal races, whose power is still attested by the remains attributed to them, the traditions of their rule and the names* they gave to places, while their descendants are still found in considerable numbers in the hilly tracts to the south of the district. These tribes gave place to Aryan immigrants at a later period than in the adjoining tracts to the north-west, and Magadha, a country roughly corresponding to the modern districts of Gayā and Patna, continued to be inhabited by non-Aryan tribes at a time when Tirhut and Oudh were under Aryan sway. It was regarded as a land filled with wild tribes hardly worthy of the name of men, and as late as the 6th century B. C. it is mentioned by Budhāyana as a country inhabited by people of mixed origin outside the pale of Aryan civilization. The ancient capital of this empire was Rājagriha, the modern Rājgir, where king Jarāsandha is said to have held sway at a date too remote to be fixed with any certainty. A halo of legend is attached to this monarch, and though the site of his capital is now buried in jungle, many traces of his power are pointed out in the great stone walls and causeways which skirt and climb the rocky hills round Rājgir.

It was from this place that Sisunāga, the founder of the Saisunāga dynasty, the earliest which can claim historic reality, exercised his dominion (*cir.* 600 B. C.) over Patna and Gayā; but nothing is known of his reign, and Gayā practically emerges into the light of history in the time (*cir.* 519 B. C.) of Bimbisāra, the fifth of his line. This king was the first to extend the

PREHISTORIC
PEOPLES.

EARLY
HINDOON.

Saisunāga
dynasty.

* See Davidson and Kolarian place-names in Mirāpur, Shāhābād and Gayā by the Rev. F. Hahn, J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, Part III, No. 2—1903.

frontiers of Magadha which hitherto was a petty State corresponding roughly with the present Gayā and Patna districts ; but the real interest of his reign is that it synchronized with the preaching both of Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism. According to the *Lalita Vistara*,* Gautama Buddha came from Rājāgrīha to Gayā at the invitation of its inhabitants, who were good Brāhmins and Kshatriyas, and spent some time in contemplation on the rocky crest of Gayāsīrsa (Brahmajuni Hill), before he passed on to Bodh Gayā. Here he underwent the memorable spiritual experience at the end of which he attained enlightenment: much of his life was spent in this district after he began his mission, and it contains many of the scenes of his earliest preaching. His great contemporary, Mahāvira, who was nearly related to the royal family of Magadha, also spent many years of his ministry within the limits of that kingdom ; and there he succeeded in gathering a large following of monks, who were afterwards called Jains when they spread over the rest of India. Both Mahāvira and Buddha died shortly after the close of the reign of Bimbisāra and early in that of his son Ajātasatru, who made his way to the throne (cir. 490 B.C.) by the murder of his father. This crime involved him in war with the king of Kosala, whose sister was the wife of Bimbisāra ; and the war ending in the triumph of the king of Magadha, he passed on to the conquest of Vaisālī (Basārīh), the capital of the powerful Lichchhavi clan in Tirhut. From this time the whole country from the Ganges to the Himalayas appears to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Magadha.

Maurya
dynasty.

The Saisunāga dynasty was extinguished about 400 B.C., and Magadha passed under the rule of the Nanda kings, who in their turn were replaced by the powerful monarchs of the Maurya line, under whose rule Pātaliputra (Patna) became the capital not only of Magadha, but of India. With the reign of the great Asoka (B. C. 272—232) Gayā again comes into prominence. Overcome with remorse at the horrors of the conquest of Kalinga, Asoka became a Buddhist and signalized his adherence to that religion by constructing a temple and monastery at Bodh Gayā, and by the deepest veneration for the sacred tree under which Gautama had obtained enlightenment. Under his patronage Buddhism

* See *Buddha Gayā*, by Bājendralāla Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., Chapter II.

spread far and wide, and one of the most notable events of his reign, so far as Gaya is concerned, was the great ceremony of transplanting a branch of the Bodhi tree to Ceylon. Brahmanism appears, however, to have flourished side by side with Buddhism, and Asoka's support of the rival creed is sufficiently attested by the brief inscriptions in the caves in the Barabar Hills recording his presentation of these rock-hewn cave dwellings to the Ajivikas, a sect of non-Buddhistic ascetics. Whether they were Vaishnava ascetics or a penitential order closely connected with the Jains, they certainly had little or nothing in common with the Buddhists, and it is clear that Asoka was sincere in his declaration that he honoured all sects. In this respect he was followed by his grandson, Dasaratha, who similarly dedicated the three Nagarjuni caves in these hills to the use of the same order of ascetics on his accession in 231 B. C.

Shortly after his death came the downfall of the Mauryan dynasty in 184 B.C., when Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya, killed his master and usurped his throne. The Empire began to decline, as the outlying provinces asserted their independence, and in 167 B. C. Khāravēla, king of Kalinga, succeeded in leading his army to the capital Pātāliputra, where he compelled the Emperor to sue for peace. With this exception, we know little of the history of Magadha down to the time of Huvishka of the Kushan dynasty (150 A.D.), a royal patron of Buddhism, who is believed by General Cunningham* to have furnished funds for the building of the great temple of Bodh Gayā. A gold coin of this king was found among the relics deposited in front of the Diamond throne; and whether the temple was built during his reign or not, it appears certain that Gayā was part of his dominions, which extended as far north as Kashmir and the Punjab. It is not till the rise of the Gupta Empire that we find the next mention of Gayā in connection with the foundation of a splendid monastery at Bodh Gayā by the king of Ceylon, during the reign of Samudra Gupta, about the year 330 A. D.

The Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, † who visited India 70 years later in the time of Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, has left a glowing account of the prosperity of Magadha under this dynasty.

*Mahābodhi, p. 31.

†Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World.

Gupta
Empire.

The Chinese
pilgrims.

The towns were the largest in the Gangetic plain, the people were rich and prosperous, emulating each other in the practice of virtue; charitable institutions were numerous, rest-houses were provided for travellers on the highways, and the Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed. The city of Gayā was empty and desolate, but at Bodh Gayā there were three monasteries, the priests of which were supplied by the people with all that they could desire. A more detailed account has come down to us in the account of his journey left by Hiuen Tsiang*, another Chinese pilgrim, who visited India between 630 and 645 A.D. and recorded observations more or less minute about every place he visited. The people of Magadha, he says, highly esteemed the pursuit of learning and respected the religion of Buddha profoundly. Magadha contained 50 monasteries with 10,000 priests, most of whom followed the Greater Vehicle, but there were also 10 Deva temples belonging to numerous sectaries of different persuasions. From this it is clear that the land had recovered from the savage persecution of Śaśānka, king of Central Bengal, a bitter opponent of Buddhism, who 80 or 40 years previously had dug up and burnt the Bodhi tree, destroyed the convents and scattered the monks, carrying his ravages up to the foot of the Nepalese Hills. This change appears to have been due to the power of Harsha, who ruled Northern India between 606 and 648 A.D., and was in his later days at least a devoted adherent of Buddhism and a liberal patron of its institutions. However that may be the account of the Chinese pilgrim shows that Buddhism flourished in the country of Magadha under his rule, and that Gayā was crowded with splendid Buddhist shrines and peaceful monasteries. At Gunamati, one of the first places in Gayā visited by Hiuen Tsiang, which has been identified with a spot to the south of Dharāwat, there was a magnificent monastery containing 50 Buddhist priests; and south-west of this was the richly endowed convent of Silābhadrā, standing by the side of a single sharp crag like a stūpa—a description which clearly points to the peak of Kauwādol. Thence the pilgrim went to Gayā, which he describes as well defended, difficult of access and thinly inhabited, but containing 1,000 Brahmans, highly respected by the people everywhere, who were exempted by the

*Real's Buddhist Records of the Western World.

king from service as vassals. On his way to Bodh Gayā he made a detour to Prāgbodhi, where he saw the stūpas erected by Asoka to commemorate all the spots trodden by Buddha, and then at Bodh Gayā itself he offered worship at the Bodhi tree. The temple was surrounded by a vast number of stūpas and minor shrines; the great monastery was occupied by more than a thousand monks of the Sthavira school of the Mahāyāna, who afforded ample hospitality to the monks of Ceylon; and the tree itself was visited on each anniversary of the Nirvāna day by the princes of different countries and by a pious multitude numbering thousands and tens of thousands, who bathed its roots with scented water and perfumed milk. Hiuen Tsiang then crossed the river to Bakaur, where there was a stūpa set up in honour of the scented elephant Gandhabasti, of which the remains still exist; and after leaving this place he marched north-east in the direction of Rajgir, passing on the way Kukkuta-pādagiri (Harā Hill), Yashtivana (Jethian) and the warm springs of Tapoban.

On the death of Harsha in 648 A.D., Northern India relapsed into anarchy; Pataliputra, the former seat of the Empire, fell into ruins, and each small potentate carved out a kingdom for himself. Early in the 9th century (*cir.* 815 A.D.) a chieftain named Gopāla became ruler of Bengal, and, extending his power over Magadha, founded the Pāla dynasty. The Pālas were devout Buddhists, and a number of inscriptions at Bodh Gayā, beginning with Gopāla and ending with Mahipāla (1026-1060 A.D.) record the dedication of various images of Buddha. Gopāla founded a great monastery at Bihār, which had taken the place of Pataliputra as a capital; and under his successors Magadha became a great centre of missionary enterprise, sending out emissaries to spread the faith over Central and Eastern India and even outside its borders. Not the least notable result of this activity was the revival of Buddhism in Tibet where Atisha, who had studied under the Abbot of the Bodh Gayā monastery, succeeded in reforming Lāmaism. Arriving in Tibet in 1035 A.D., he found Lāmaism much tainted by devil-worship, and founded a reformed order based upon a Buddhist model, which afterwards became the Yellow-cap sect, and now as the State Church holds the entire secular government of the country.

The Pāla
Kings.

Here he died in 1052 near Lhāsa and the rock sculptures near his tomb show that he and his followers strove to reproduce in this northern climate the surroundings of their monasteries in Gayā*. At the same time, the fame of the sacred Buddhist sites in Gayā spread far and wide, and attracted pilgrims not only from all parts of India, but even from the distant countries of China and Burma. But though devout Buddhists themselves, the Pālas were tolerant towards Hinduism. Under their rule Brahmanism flourished, Gayā itself became well known as a place of pilgrimage, and the town was adorned with a number of temples erected to the Sun-god, Gadādhara and other deities.

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

In 1193 A.D. Gayā suffered, with the rest of Bihār, from the invasion of Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khilji. The combined intolerance and rapacity of the Muhammadans were directed against the ecclesiastical institutions which were so numerous in this part of the country. The monasteries were sacked and the monks slain, many of the temples were ruthlessly destroyed or desecrated, and countless idols were broken and trodden under foot. Those monks who escaped the sword fled to Tibet, Nepal and Southern India; and Buddhism as a popular religion in Bihār, its last abode in Northern India, was finally destroyed. Thenceforward Gayā passed under the Muhammadan rule, and its history is merged in that of the Province or Subah of Bihar, of which it formed an important part. The chronicles of Mewār mention, it is true, expeditions made in the 13th and 14th centuries for the recovery of the holy city of Gayā from the infidels, but these references must be attributed to the pious wishes of the chronicles and not to accomplished facts, as the hold of the Muhammadans over the pilgrim city remained undisturbed.

In the time of Bakhtiyār Khilji and his immediate successors, South Bihār was included in the Bengal Viceroyalty, from which it was separated by the Emperor Altamsh, who placed

* Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell, I.M.S., C.I.E., writes in *Lhāsa and its Mysteries* :—
 "The rock sculptures bore abundant evidence that Atisha and Indian monks of his class had been in this locality. For the carvings covering the rounded shoulders and cliffs along the roadside were more in the old Indian style, whilst the contour and general appearance of these dark belichased rounded granite hills reminded one faintly of similar hills in the Buddhist Holy Land around Buddha Gayā, whence Atisha came."

it under a separate Governor named Alā-ud-din Ismī (1229 A. D.). It was shortly afterwards resumed by the ruler of Bengal, and continued to be part of the Bengal kingdom till 1520, when the Emperor Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlak again separated it. In 1397 A. D. it was attached to the kingdom of Jaunpur, a century later it became subject to the Muhammadan kings of Gaur. There is no specific mention, however, of Gayā itself, and we only know that the Jaunpur kings appear to have given *jāgīrs* to Pathān chiefs and that Rājput and Bābhan zamindārs also gained considerable influence and power. Towards the end of the first half of the 16th century, Gayā was under the regency of one of these Pathān chiefs, Sher Shāh, a military adventurer who held Sasarām in fief and thence spread his sway over the whole of South Bihār and eventually seized the throne at Delhi. On the downfall of his short-lived dynasty, Bihar was again formed into a distinct *Sūbāh*, and long had a Governor appointed direct from Delhi; but under the later Mughal Emperors it was again incorporated in the great Bengal Viceroyalty and was governed by semi-independent Nawāb Nāzims through Deputy Governors.

As the reins of central control slackened, the local chieftains, taking advantage of the disintegration of the Empire, began to play an important part in the politics of the *Sūbāh*, and usurped considerable power. As early as 1730 Ali Vardi Khān, who was the Deputy Governor of Bihār under Shujā-ud-daula, found it necessary to subdue these local potentates, whose independence had become a political danger. From the *Riyāzu s-Salātin** we learn that "invading the tracts of Sundar Singh, zamindār of Tekārī, and Nāmdār Khān Muin, who, sheltered by dense forests and rocks, had not cared for former Nāzims, had neglected to discharge the duties of loyalty, and had never paid the Imperial revenue without coercion, Ali Vardi Khān set about chastising them, subdued their tracts completely, levied the revenues from them to the fullest extent, and reduced them to thorough subjection. And similarly punishing other insolent rebels, Ali Vardi Khān placed the ring of submission on their ears."

Thenceforward Gayā was frequently overrun by contending armies during the troubled times which witnessed the decay of the Mughal Empire and the rise of the British power. The district

Mughal
Sūbāhāra.

* *Riyāzu s-Salātin*, translated by Maulvi Abdus Salam (1904).

was divided among a number of powerful zamindars, who each kept up a small standing army; the Rājā of Tekāri was supreme in the centre of the district, Kāngār Khān and his brother Nāmdār Khān in Narhat and Samai to the east, Bishun Singh, the zamindār of Siris and Kutumbā, in the west, and the Rājā of Rāngarh to the south. The latter was the most powerful chieftain of the hills, and the Viceroys of the Province had scarcely any control over him. Accordingly, it was decided to break his power; and an expedition was sent against him in 1740, the invading army being lead by the father of the author of the *Sair-ul-Mutākharin*, assisted by the zamindars of Siris, Kutumbā and Sherghāti, as well as by the powerful Rājā of Tekāri. The fort of Rāngarh was taken, and the allied forces advanced far into the hills, when the expedition had to be abandoned in consequence of the news that the Marāthās were marching through the hills in order to swoop down upon Bengal. The invasion of Bengal soon became a reality; and in spite of its distance from the principal scene of the fighting, Gayā suffered from the ravages of the Marāthā armies. In 1743 the great Marāthā chief, Bāljī Rao, marched through it on his way to Bengal at the head of 50,000 horse. From every place on the line of march he levied contributions; and all who refused to pay had their property plundered, their lands devastated and their tenants put to the sword. One zamindār only ventured to withstand the invading force—Ahmed Khān, the grandson of Dāūd Khān, the founder of Dāūdgar, who held the *parqanas* of Anchā and Goh in fief. He shut himself up with his family, his troops and all the merchants and moneyed men of the place in the fort of Ghausgarh, which he had built and fortified close to Dāūdgar. The Marāthās sacked and burnt the town, and when they proceeded to use the materials to fill up the moat surrounding the fort, Ahmed Khān fled, and was only too glad to be allowed to purge his contumacy by a fine of Rs. 50,000. The Marāthās then continued their march through Tekāri, Gayā and Mānpur without opposition. They returned however 2 years afterwards, when Raghuji Bhonsla made a sudden sally to the north, in order to rescue some Afghān followers of Mustafā Khān, the rebellious general of Ali Vardi Khān, who had taken refuge in the hills near Sasarām after their defeat near Jagdīspur. On the way the Marāthās sacked and

plundered the town of Tekāri and all the adjoining territory, after which they crossed the Son, and did not visit Gayā again till after they had effected a junction with the Afghāns.

The district remained quiet for a few years afterwards, with the exception of a small expedition led by Rām Narāyan, the Deputy Governor of Bihār, against Bishun Sing'h, zamīndār of Siris and Kutumbā, who had refused to pay any revenues after Sirāj-ud-Daula's death and had annexed a considerable strip of territory. He made some resistance in his forts, but the Governor's army and train of artillery soon brought him to terms. Shortly after this small campaign, Gayā again became the centre of some serious fighting. The Shahzāda or Imperial Prince, later known as the Emperor Shāh Alam, determined to establish his claims to the Province and invaded Bihār in 1760 with a mixed army of Afghāns and Marāthās. Here Kāmgār Khān joined him with a large army, and soon assumed a predominant part in the councils of war. Repulsed near Bārḥ by the English troops and the Nawāb's levies, Shāh Alam, who in the meantime had been proclaimed Emperor on the assassination of his father, fell back on this district, where he and his army ranged without opposition from Dāūdagar to the environs of Bihār. In the *Sair-ul-Mutākharrin* we find a graphic account of the ravages of his army. "Having nothing," it says, "to subsist upon but what he found in the fields and among the farmers of the flat country, both himself and his cavalry and cattle would have been exceedingly distressed had he sojourned for any length of time in one place; in such a case he would have suffered for want of grain and for everything requisite for an army. His authority was not acknowledged, and he was obliged to live by rapine and plunder, just as if he had been in the country of some stranger." Apart, however, from their necessities, both the Emperor and his trusted general, Kāmgār Khān, took a special delight in ravaging this part of country—the former because he was incensed at the refusal of the Rājā of Tekāri to join his cause, and the latter because he had a bitter animosity towards the Rājā and was only too glad to prolong a stay which ruined the lands of his personal enemy and spared his own. The Rājā had no sufficient force to withstand his enemies, but remained shut up in his fortress of Tekāri, and when at last he ventured forth, he was at once

captured by 1,000 Mughal horse, which Kāmgar Khān had sent to waylay him.

At last, however, the approach of an English force under Major Carnac, with the allied troops under Miran, the son of the Nawāb Mir Jāfar Ali, and the Governor Rām Narāyan, compelled the Emperor to give battle at Mānpur near the walls of Gayā. The battle was short but decisive: the English troops fell on the masses opposed to them with their usual impetuosity, and they gave way in confusion in spite of some opposition from a small force under the French adventurer, Monsieur Law, who had taken service with the native powers after the capture of Chandernagore and had joined the Emperor with a small train of artillery. The Emperor and Kāmgar Khān fled from the field of battle, and the troops under Law, discouraged by their flight and tired of the wandering life they had in his service, broke and fled. Law alone remained, waiting for the end, seated on a gun, and in this position he surrendered to Major Carnac on condition that he was allowed to keep his sword. This battle (January 15th, 1761) put an end to the war. The Emperor came to terms, and was escorted by the English to Patna, where he was installed in the English factory, and there formally conferred on Mir Kāsim Ali the Viceroyalty of Bihār, Bengal and Orissa. On the defeat of the latter in the decisive battle of Buxar (1764), the British became masters of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and Gayā passed with the rest of Bihār, under British rule.

Thenceforward Gayā has had an uneventful history, except for the Mūtiny of 1857, when the peace it enjoyed under British rule was rudely broken. Ever since the commencement of the convulsions in Upper India, there had been indications of an unquiet spirit pervading all classes of the community. In the city itself the fiction that the bones or blood of swine and oxen had been mixed with the flour of the bazar was industriously disseminated, and attempts were made to corrupt the Sikh soldiery who were posted there, and to win them over to the rebel cause. There was however no overt act of hostility, and the disturbances only began with the abandonment of the station. Writing on the 28th July 1857, the Collector, Mr. Alonzo Money, reported that the mutiny of Dinapore had thrown Gayā into a ferment, but there was nothing to be feared from the towns-

people, as they were surrounded by a new and strong police, and had a wholesome dread of the 45 English and 100 Sikhs. Still there was grave danger if any of the mutineers entered the district, as there were plenty of zamindārs who would join them, if they once got the upper hand, though none were likely to hazard life and property before that. He was prepared, however, to meet any body of the mutineers under 300 or 350 about 2 miles from the town, and had "no doubt of giving them a good thrashing," while if they came in greater force, he would place the treasure in a brick-house, which was being provisioned, and would defend it with the same numbers.

On the 31st of July, he received a message from the Commissioner informing him of the defeat of Dunbar's party near Arrah, and saying that "Everything must now be sacrificed to holding the country and the occupation of a central position." The order desired him and the other civil authorities to come with all their force to Patna, making their arrangements as promptly and quickly as possible, and contained an injunction to remove the treasure, if their personal safety was not endangered by doing so. The residents were called together and informed of the orders, and at six that evening they and the troops started, leaving the station and all that it contained under the charge of the *daroga* and the *sūbahdār* of the *najīb* guard. The jail was full of criminals and the treasury contained 7 lakhs of rupees, but even this large treasure was left behind, because, as Mr. Money reported next day, he had neither carts nor elephants to transport it. When they had gone 3 miles from the town, Mr. Money and Mr. Hollings, an officer of the Opium Department, who felt acutely the shame of this abandonment of the station to anarchy and plunder, determined to return and see what could be done to preserve order and to save the Government property. Money halted the party, announced their intention, asked none of them to join him, and went back with Hollings alone. They found the station in the same order as when they left it 3 hours before; the treasury was untouched and still guarded; at the jail the guard were on duty and all was quiet. Many of the inhabitants welcomed them back with every expression of joy, and the Gayāwāls promised, with the help of the zamindārs, to raise a force of 3,000 or 4,000 men to defend the

town. Their position was however one of great danger. The *najibs* were brothers in blood, and probably in feeling, to the mutineers, and 7 lakhs protected only by themselves was a great temptation. Not much help could be expected from the indolent Gayāwāls; at any moment a band of mutineers might swoop down upon the town; the Bakr-Id was being celebrated, and if the Musalmāns chose, they could rise with impunity. Money at once began collecting pack-bullocks on which to carry away the treasure, and called in a detachment of the 64th, which was near Sherghāti. They at once responded to his call and marched in on the 2nd August. There seemed no prospect, however, of their being able to hold the town. On the 1st news had come that the mutineers from Dinapore had attacked and looted Arrah, killing every Bengali they could find, and that the residents were surrounded. The Gayāwāls, who considered their sacred city safe, had failed to fulfil their promise; the zamīndārs were either indifferent or disaffected; and of the promised levies, less than 100 men were forthcoming, and those the refuse of the villages, old, weak and useless. On the 3rd a letter came from an officer at Dinapore with an urgent message: "For God's sake, look out. The 8th Native Infantry have marched upon Gya, they say with one gun." A council of war was held, and as it was impossible to hold Gayā with the small force of 80 men, it was decided to fall back on the Grand Trunk Road with the treasure. The Government paper was burnt, the treasure was placed on the pack-bullocks already collected and on the carts which had brought the English soldiers, and at 6 o'clock that evening they started. Having seen the convoy safely started, Money returned to his house* to save a few things of value, but suddenly he heard shouts and yells, and a servant came rushing in to say that the jail was loose and the prisoners were near. He just had time to get to the stable and mount his horse, which was ready saddled, and to catch up the convoy. As in other places, so in Gayā, the removal of the treasure seems to have been the signal to the disaffected to break out into open mutiny, and scarcely had the party left the station than the *najibs* let loose the

*Mr. Money's house was that situated at the south-west corner of the Cutcherry Road to the west of the Dak Bungalow, and the jail was at this time in the north of the town. Mr. Hollings' house is at present the Collector's residence.

prisoners, and joining with them, pursued and attacked the troops, whom they overtook in the rocky pass on the Dobbī road near the present jail. They were repulsed with some loss, and the party then proceeded unmolested and uninterrupted down the Grand Trunk Road to the railway at Rāniganj, thence to Calcutta, where Money delivered over the treasure he had saved.

Gayā was re-occupied on the 16th August without opposition by a force of 220 Sikhs and 35 men of the 85th, all the bad characters and released convicts making off as soon as the relieving force appeared. No other enemy had approached the place, but a great deal of damage had been done by those scoundrels with whom riot and disorder are a trade and profession. The houses of the residents had been completely dismantled, the Judge's and Magis'trate's *kachabris* had been burnt, together with the record-rooms, and the marauders had destroyed all that was useless to them. The Treasurer, however, faithful to his trust, made over Rs. 4,000 which had been given to him for the expenses of the jail, etc., and some of the clerks had preserved several *tahsildāri* books, which they had taken home to make up the quarterly accounts. Steps were at once taken to restore the authority of Government. The out-stations of Sherghāti and Nawāda, which had also been abandoned, were reoccupied, and a small expedition, sent out to relieve the Tehta Sub-Deputy Opium Agency, which was reported as being besieged, dispersed a body of 200 rebels. On the 8th September, the 5th Irregular Cavalry, which had mutinied at Bhāgalpur invaded the district, plundering as they went. At length, after having destroyed the public buildings at Nawāda, they approached Gayā, and Captain Rattray proceeded to encounter them at a few miles distance from the station; but after a severe skirmish, in which they inflicted considerable loss on the Police Battalion, they evaded him and got to Gayā before he could reach it. Here they made an unsuccessful attack on a house* which had been fortified for the protection of the residents, but succeeded in breaking open the jail and liberating the prisoners. They failed in an attempt to plunder the town, and after murdering the Munsif of Bihār, rode off for

*This was apparently the Judge's house as in the Narrative of Events dated September 12, 1857, it is stated that "an entrenchment was made round the Judge's house, to afford a place of refuge, only to be occupied in case of need."

Tekāri and the Son. Towards the end of October, fresh alarm was caused by the advance of two companies of the 32nd Native Infantry, which had mutinied at Bhāgalpur; but the mutineers continued their march through Jahānābād to the Son without visiting Gayā, and on the 22nd October Major English marched to its rescue with a detachment of the 53rd Regiment.

In the meantime a marauder, named Jodhar Singh, with a band of Bhojpur men, was doing much mischief in the north and west of the district, making grants of land to his followers and giving out that the British rule was at an end. He plundered and harassed the whole country round Arwal, killing all who opposed him, and finally a party of *najibs* was sent against him in the hope of putting an end to his depredations. This expedition failed in its object. Jodhar Singh retreated to his house at Klāmīni, which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by 70 or 80 men armed with guns and matchlocks. The attempt to force an entrance was repulsed with some loss, and another attempt to set fire to the building having also failed, the assailants were compelled to fall back on Arwal. Elsewhere the authorities were more successful in restoring order, a number of rebels were tried and executed, a body of European Mounted Police was raised, an extra Police force of 250 men was sent to Nawāda, and in January 1858 Gayā itself was reinforced by 100 sailors and officers of the Indian Navy. In June a raid was made by the Shāhābād rebels, who crossed the Son with the supposed intention of attacking the fort at Tekāri, where 15 or 20 lakhs were deposited, but they contented themselves with plundering villages near Arwal and destroying two factories belonging to the Solano family. It was fully expected that Gayā and its jail would be attacked; and, as the jail was considered untenable, 156 of the worst prisoners were sent to Sherghāti. The guards broke into mutiny within 6 miles of that place, shot their officer, and released their prisoners. On the 22nd June the remainder of the *najib* guard reported that 200 rebels had come quietly to the jail in the night and released the prisoners. Two days afterwards the Jahānābād thāna was surprised, the Government buildings burnt, the *daroga* cut to pieces, and his mangled body hung up by the heels on a tree opposite the thāna. Jodhar Singh openly boasted that he would destroy every public building between the Son and Monghyr,

and it was recognized that it was necessary to crush him without further loss of time. Accordingly, Captain Rattray, with a portion of his battalion, 300 Infantry and 50 Cavalry, crossed the Son, and after dispersing one party of the enemy near Arwal, gave his attention to the main body under Jodhar Singh. On the 4th July he came up with the marauders and at once engaged them at Kāsmā. The Sikhs fought with their usual gallantry; Jodhar Singh's force was completely defeated, with a loss of about 100 men; and this victory had the effect of clearing the whole of the district.

A more detailed narrative of the events of 1857 will be found in Mr. Money's report, which is printed as an Appendix to this chapter.

Gayā is singularly rich in archæological remains. Not only are there a great number of temples of a very early date, but there is scarcely a village in which some fragments of ancient statuary are not found collected under a sacred *pīpal*-tree. The statues generally belong to the time of the Pāla kings (800—1200 A.D.), and are both Buddhistic and Brahmanical. They afford a good illustration of the connection between the two sects, which seems to have culminated in an intermixture of both, the result being that Buddhism became more and more Hinduized. The Buddhistic images are of especial interest, as, with the exception of the Græco-Buddhistic sculptures of Gandhāra, they are the only class of Indian Buddhistic art that has come down to us with a fair amount of completeness. The following is a brief sketch of the most interesting remains; a fuller description of the more important of them will be found in Chapter XIX.

In the headquarters subdivision, the town of Gayā is crowded with Hindu temples and ancient remains, and a few miles to the south is the stately fane of Bodh Gayā with some of the earliest sculptures in India. Opposite Bodh Gayā, on the narrow neck of land dividing the Nilsājan and Mohāna rivers, are the remains of a large stūpa at Bakraur, which has been identified with the ancient Ajayapura. Many Buddhistic images are found in the neighbourhood and also at Punāwān, 14 miles, and Dakhin Gāwan 16 miles east of Gayā. Two miles south-east of Punāwān is Hasrā Hill, identified by Dr. Stein with the Kukkuta pāda-giri of Hiuen Tsiang and Fa Hian, where

*Kāśyapa, the greatest of Buddha's disciples, is said to be buried, the mountain having burst asunder to receive him. There are many scattered remains in the valley between the Sobhnāth Hill and Hasrā Hill proper, consisting of pillars, relievos and fragments of images or sculptures of undoubted Buddhist origin; while in the neighbouring village of Bishunpur Tanrwā are some finely cut images of a life-sized Buddha and two attendants. At Kurkihār, 3 miles north-east of Wazīrganj, is a large mound evidently marking the site of what must have been extensive buildings, from which many Buddhistic images, *chaityas*, relievos and other carvings have been dug. Not far from Kurkihār are Amaithī and Urel, where some Buddhistic and Hindū remains are found, and about 11 miles to the north-east lies the village of Jethian, identified with the Yashtivana of Hiuen Tsiang, in the neighbourhood of which there are several sites associated with the wanderings of Buddha. Beyond this (in the Patna district), but separated by a high ridge, lies the valley of old Rājagriha (Rājgīr) fraught with many associations of ancient times and dynasties. Interesting remains also exist at Belā, 13 miles north of Gayā, at Paibighā, 6 miles north-east of Belā, and at Pali, 3 miles south, and Kespā, 6 miles north of Tekāri. At Konch, 5 miles south-west of Tekāri, is a curious brick-built temple, the architecture of which indicates a Buddhistic model, and traces of Buddhistic influence are also observable in sculptures round about. Seven miles south-east of Gayā is the Dhongrā Hill, which is identifiable with the Prāgbodhi mountain of Hiuen Tsiang, with the remains of several terraces on the slope, and of seven stūpas on the ridge of the hill. At Guneri, 8 miles north-west of Sherghāti, are many Buddhistic images and remains, marking the site, apparently, of the *Sri Guṇācharita* monastery. In the extreme north of the subdivision lie the Barābar Hills with their famous rock-cut caves. Not far from these hills to the west is the curious isolated rocky peak of Kauwadol, at the base of which is a huge stone-carved image of Buddha in a sitting posture, which probably marks the site of the ancient Buddhist monastery of Silābhadrā.*

In the Nawāda subdivision, at Sitāmarhi, about 7 miles south-west of Hasnā, is a cave hewn in a large isolated boulder of granite, where tradition relates that Sita, the wife of Rāma, gave birth to Lava while in exile. Many legends cluster round Rājauli with

its picturesque hills and pretty valleys. Durvāsa, Lomāsa, Gautama, Srīngi and other Rishis are supposed to have lived in this neighbourhood, and hills are still known by their names; while Dubaur claims to be the birthplace of Lorik, the Goālā hero, whose feats are still sung by the country folk in numerous well-known songs. At Aphasar, about 5 miles north of Wārisaliganj, are several remains, including a very fine statue of the *Varāha*, or Boar incarnation of Vishnu.

In the Jahānābād subdivision, about 3 miles north of the Barābar Hills stands Dharāwat, near the site of the Buddhist monastery of Gunamati, where there is a fine twelve-armed statue of the Avalokitesvara Bodhisatwa by the side of a large tank. South of this on the slope of a low ridge of hills are many remains and mounds, where clay seals inscribed with the Buddhist formula have been dug out. At Dapthu, 3 miles north of Hulāsganj, are some finely-carved images and ruins of temples, and not far to the south near the village of Lāth (so called from the pillar) is a large carved monolith of granite, 53½ feet long with an average width of 3 feet, lying half buried in an open field. Opposite the Barābar Hills, at Jāru and Banwaria on the east side of the Phalgu river are the ruins of what must have been a large temple, and there are other remains of interest at Kāko, Ghenjan and Ner.

At Shamshernagar in the Aurangābād subdivision are the ruins of a fort and also a fine mosque, which has been repaired by the Archaeological Department. A fine stone temple stands at Deo and a similar one at Umgā near Madanpur, both of which have traces of Buddhistic influence in their architecture. Large Buddhistic images and many remains are found near the Mānda Hills, and at Burha, 2 miles further east, are some finely carved and polished *chaityas* and images as well as some remains marking the site of a monastery. Deokulī, Cheon and the Pachār Hill also contain remains of Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jain interest.

APPENDIX.

To

THE COMMISSIONER OF PATNA.

Gya, the 11th March 1858.

" SIR,

IN forwarding my annual statement, I beg to submit a short abstract of the events and occurrences which have marked, in this district, the year 1857.

Here, as elsewhere, all was quiet for the first two months. On the 28th of April I came up as officiating Collector. The storm, which shortly after burst in the North-West, appeared unlikely ever to travel so far south as Behar. Nearer and nearer, however, it came, and its approach was preceded by that general feeling of disquiet and uneasiness which is the fore-runner and sign of all great convulsions, physical or moral. The news of the mutiny at Benares ran through the district like an electric shock. I firmly believe—and the opinion is borne out by those of intelligent natives here—that on the fate of Benares hung that of Behar. There were at the time fair grounds for apprehension. The respectable natives expressed alarm; the scoundrelism of Gya began to boast and talk. It became known later that the *budmashes* had dared to speak of the approaching hour when they too would revel in the murder of Englishmen and the dishonouring of English women. There appeared signs of a possible outbreak; the 15th of June was the day said to be fixed for it. I never could discover the exact grounds for this supposition, but it seemed generally credited. A telegraphic message was sent to Calcutta, and the order came up for a Company of H. M.'s 64th, then passing through Sherghotty, to march to Gya.

About this time, I was directed to assume charge of the Magistrate's Office in addition to my own. My first object was to intimidate and disperse the *budmashes*. I instituted strict

enquiries into the mode of livelihood of every doubtful man, and having received orders from the Government and the Commissioner to entertain 50 men, Police, I placed them as a guard over the four main roads leading into the town, south, north and west; the east was sufficiently protected by the river. The duty of these watches was to apprehend a number of doubtful characters, whose names were entered in a list, and to detain and bring before me all sepoys and suspicious people entering the town in gangs or with arms. A strong pressure was thus exercised over the rogues of the place. Within one week they were either caught or had escaped out of the town. Our position was soon strengthened by a reinforcement of 120 Seikhs. Shortly after their arrival I heard that the people of the town refused to sit or smoke with them, calling them Christians. It was proved against a carpenter that he had told some Seikhs their food was mixed with pig's fat and bullock's bones ground. The rascal was hanged next day; and I made it known that any man refusing to smoke with a Seikh on the ground that he was a Christian, *i.e.*, had eaten adulterated food, should be flogged. After this no more complaints were made.

On or about the 10th July, the detachment of the 64th was ordered to proceed on the Grand Trunk Road. The day before its departure, I received a letter-express from the Commissioner, desiring me to detain the troops until the return of a spy whom he had sent to Tikaree. Information, it appears, had been given to Mr. Tayler that 200 guns were mounted at the Tikaree Fort, guns belonging to Modenarain Singh. My instructions, in case the report received confirmation from the second spy, were to surprise the Fort by a night march with the troops, English and Seikh. His second spy contradicted the first, and the detachment went to Sherghotty. The removal of the English troops materially weakened our position. No one believed in the troops at Dinapore. The 5th Irregulars were said to be shaky; more than all, just at that time the march of English troops up the Trunk Road was discontinued. A few days more, and the Trunk Road might not be safe. To me Gya was no longer a place for English ladies and children. The Judge being of the same opinion, we sent round a circular, advising all to make arrangements for the removal of their

families. But the Indian Englishman is a very domestic specimen of his race. We got no thanks from either wives or husbands. None would move until the Judge's and my wife led the way, when a general exodus of ladies and babies took place.

I forgot to mention that, besides 80 men of the 64th, we had had 45 of the 84th. These last remained when the first went. Our force, therefore, now consisted of 120 Seikhs and 45 English.

Until nearly the end of July matters remained in abeyance. Natives and English were watching the struggles alone. Kooer Singh's intrigues in Arrah had, previous to this, attracted my attention. I had reported his having enjoined upon his ryots to be ready when called, and had given the Commissioner notice of his writing to two of the largest zemindars in this district. On the 25th of July, the three Dinapore regiments mutinied and marched off unhurt. Information of the long-expected event was sent to me express by the Commissioner, whose letter of half-a-dozen lines ends with "Look out—large numbers of them are said to have gone in your direction." We were too weak to encounter large numbers, and I therefore asked Mr. Tayler for reinforcements, if he had them to spare. Six weeks sooner the mutiny of Dinapore would have produced an outbreak at Gya; but the rabble and scoundrelism were now cowed and without leaders; all the notorious *budmashes* lay harmless in prison; the man who was considered their chief had been sent up to Patna; the news of the defection of the three regiments passed over Gya without awakening any local response. Still it was an anxious time. I knew many of my Nujeebs* to be untrustworthy. I had had reported to me secret meetings at which some of them attended. Although I knew that, in the face of such a force as we had got, they would not attempt active revolt, I thought it far from improbable they might some night march off westward, and before doing so help themselves to a portion of the treasure over which they mounted guard alternately with the Seikhs every 24 hours.

On the 31st of July I was sitting in my room, talking to the Subahdar of the Nujeebs, when a letter, marked "urgent and

* There were 2 Nujeeb Companies with a strength of 100 men at Gaya.

express," was put into my hand. I opened it. It was from the Commissioner. In few words it informed me of the defeat of Dunbar's party at Arrah, and continued: "Everything must now be sacrificed to holding the country and the occupation of a central position." It directed me and the civil authorities to proceed "at once with all our force secretly and expeditiously to Patna." It ended with an injunction to remove the treasure "if doing so endangered not life." "What does the Commissioner Sahib say?" asked the Subahdar. I made some excuse, and after a minute or two sent him off. I then despatched a circular round the station, and within an hour every one was present. It was agreed we should start at 5 that evening. Mr. Tayler now declares that he intended the treasure to be removed, and anticipated the delay which the move must cause. Such an impression could not result from the perusal of his order. The object he prominently put forward was the defence of Patna as a central position, the means the rapid concentration of all available forces, which were to proceed "at once and secretly and expeditiously." Any delay would have been contrary to the spirit and letter of the order. If "everything was to be sacrificed to the occupation of a central position," it evidently would have been going counter to the wishes and plans of the Commissioner to hazard such occupation by the delay consequent on collecting carts and moving treasure. Thus at least I argued. I thought, and still think, I was carrying out the order of my superior as intended. At six we started. I spoke to the Darogah, the Subahdar and one or two of the respectable natives, and enjoined upon them to maintain order and tranquility.

We had gone a mile beyond the town, when it struck me that, though bound to send the Commissioner every available soldier, I was not bound myself to help in holding a central position. Mr. Hollings and I returned, thinking it best to take the bull by the horns at once. I rode first to the jail, and called out the Sepoy guard of 80 men. I spoke to them and they answered, as Sepoys do answer, with every appearance and demonstration of loyalty. Then I went to the treasury. The guard turned out with muskets, not empty-handed as at the jail. I fancied too some of them looked sulky; however, I made them a speech in Hindoostanee, and they made protestations in return. We then

went home. I despatched a sowar to Sherghotty with a telegraphic message, asking for instructions. Sherghotty was abandoned. Another sowar, with a letter from Captain Thomson of the 64th, caught up his detachment at Balwa, and he at once turned back for Gya. The two days and nights preceding his arrival were anxious ones. I feared the Nujeebs making away with the treasure and joining their mutinous brethren at Arrah. We were not idle, however, during that time. I called a meeting of all the chief Gyawals or priests of Gya, and they promised me assistance and support in men and arms. Mr. Hollings and I both went to office, as a mode of quieting the native minds. The Gyawals proved a rotten reed. One of them, Deonath Sijwar, sent a few useful men; the other sent old men and blind and halt, with nothing but rusty swords. It was clear the people would not help themselves. When I found this, and before the 64th detachment arrived, I pondered on what should be done. There were no means of communicating with Calcutta except by the slow medium of the post. I had to think and act as appeared best. It seemed evident, if the danger to Patna was so real as to require the few Seikhs and English at Gya to help in warding it off, the 80 men now arrived would also be sent for. Again it appeared just as much my duty to assist Mr. Tayler with this force as with the force I had sent him. But if this force went, now that I saw no reliance could be placed on the people, with it would go my remaining chance of saving the treasure. It was determined to go to Patna and take the treasure. Six hours before leaving, a note in pencil, written by a brother officer of Captain Thomson's, came from Dinapore:—"The 8th N. I. are in full march on Gya with one gun, they say." To go north was to meet this Regiment and lose the treasure; we resolved to go south and to Calcutta. That pencil note probably saved many lives. Had we gone north, and had the jail been let loose as we traversed the town, we should have been attacked through a long succession of streets and lanes, and been fortunate to escape with life. Going south, the road was all *maidan* from the treasury door. At six the party left. How I remained behind—how the Nujeebs broke open the jail gates—how prisoners and guard together rushed to my house—how fortunately I found my horse ready saddled and contrived to escape on his back—how the scoundrel

mob followed us up to a pass between some low hills nearly 3 miles from Gya, and twice attacked us—how they ran after losing 5 or 6 of their body—and how, after a long and painful march in the midst of the rains, we succeeded, thanks to the untiring vigilance and laborious care of the English soldiers, in depositing 7 lacs at the Calcutta treasury—has been already fully detailed by me.

Repulsed and discomfited, the guard and prisoners returned, looted a little money left in the treasury for the food of the jail, and then dispersed—the former to Arrah, the latter to their homes. Silent but trembling the town remained that night; next morning in its full force awoke the spirit of the oriental savage; every scoundrel had dreamt of plunder during the night, and now awoke to verify his dream; boys of 10 or 12 strutted about with swords; the peaceful and wealthy, in proportion to the *budmashes* as 10 to 1, would, in any other country, have united against a common foe; but the elements of self-government do not exist in this country. The scum and scoundrelism of the city had it all their own way. One or two bands, under able leaders, levied only blackmail, and going from house to house, sold immunity and safety; others revelled in indiscriminate plunder; five or six of the Gyawals mustered their followers and sacked a whole quarter of the town. The unhappy Hindu *mahajuns* were the chief losers, preyed upon at once by the Mahomedan rabble of the lower town, and by these priests of the upper.

On the 16th of August Gya was re-occupied by the civilians ordered back from Patna, by 35 of H. M.'s 84th, and by 220 of Captain Rattray's Seikhs with their Commander at their head. The natives, at first afraid that the burning of the Government offices and the destruction of European property was to bring a bombardment upon the city, fled in all directions, those who had looted leaving in the streets, in fields and tanks, the produce of their plunder; but as soon as it became apparent that the return of the authorities was to maintain order rather than to exact a general retribution, confidence was restored. Ten days of anarchy had disgusted all quiet men with what they called the Hindoostanee Raj. They had seen how necessary to their honour and comfort was that strong hand of the white foreigner which they used to fancy pressed heavily. They had seen how

not only in the town, but in the country, every element of disorder, violence and wickedness was rife, how the village ryots as well as the town *budmash* instinctively turned to plunder and violence, how rampant and how general was that spirit of the beast of prey which acknowledges no common bounds and no law save the indulgence of its passions. "Rather than live again under such thralldom," more than one respectable native has said to me, "I would turn Christian, if this was necessary to obtain the protection of Government."

There are two curious facts connected with the disturbances in this district: one is the influence of Kooer Singh, although not a zemindar in Behar Proper; the other, the universal identification of a Hindoostanee Government with license and plunder. "Hindoostanee Raj hoca, Kooer Singh ke Raj—loot, loot," were the cries with which one zemindar attacked a weaker one, one village preyed upon a neighbouring hamlet, or a dozen scoundrels knocked down and fleeced a solitary traveller. There was here no influential land-holder to knead into one large festering mass all these various scattered pieces of corruption. The anarchy rose but in three places to the so-called dignity of rebellion. In the north-east portion of the district, Hyder Ali Khan, with a few followers, attempted to regain possession of the Rajgeer Pargana, formerly belonging to his ancestors. In September he was caught and hanged. The two Anti-rajahs raised a Lilliputian standard of their own. One is hiding, the other in prison awaits his trial. At Wazeergunge, some 12 or 14 villages united under one Kosheal Singh, a ticadar of many villages, and after going through the initiatory ceremony of some indiscriminate plunder, set up the flag of Kosheal. Many of these miserable fools have been transported, but Kosheal is still uncaught. In the western thannahs, three or four factories belonging to Mr. Solano, the only European land-holder or planter here, were destroyed. I must not omit to mention the noble conduct of two men whose courage and judgment saved the station of Sherghotty. Rujjub Ali, Darogah of that place, and Babu Anand Coomar Rai of the Executive Engineer's department, remained at their posts when the Police throughout the district hid themselves, and by their example and by collecting round them the well-disposed, succeeded in overawing the *budmashes* and in preventing all

plunder. The property of the Government and of English residents was untouched.

I returned on the 25th of August. The eastern portion of the district was then in possession of the mutinous 5th Irregular Cavalry. These gentry seemed aware that Government had no force to direct against them. They travelled slowly, remained three or four days at one place, and appeared under no apprehension of pursuit. They had originally come in this direction from a belief that Gya was still devoid of all troops. Even when they discovered their mistake, they did not hurry their movements in the least. At Wazeergunge, 14 miles from Gya, they remained 3 days. Meanwhile they levied contributions all round both in food and money; the Government authority was in contempt, and I began to fear lest their presence might kindle in the district a mutinous flame more dangerous than the last. Anything seemed to be better than to sit still with 250 English and Seikhs, and let these scoundrels swagger and hold the country under our noses. We were not half their number, but the Government could give us no more men. On the 6th of September the cavalry moved south from Wazeergunge. This appeared to relieve Gya from danger of an attack, and to show the enemy were on the march to the Trunk Road. Captain Rattray proposed to attack. I had all along been for offensive measures and heartily approved, telling him I thought it his duty to go out. Go out we did, and on the 8th came up with the enemy. The military operations and their result I have nothing to do with. We did not thrash the enemy, nor did they thrash us, as the Press at the time insisted. We lost none killed, but 22 wounded, of whom 2 afterwards died. The enemy lost altogether (on the field and died afterwards from wounds) about 12 men; of wounded no account could be got. The sowars moving quicker than we could got first to Gya, released the jail, went off west. They still remained nearly a fortnight longer in the district. During this time they perpetrated atrocities of all descriptions. They had been joined by a well-known scoundrel, Inder Singh, and by his followers; all the *budmashes* of Gya had gone with them, and all the worse characters from the jail. Women taken from their houses and carried off, to be a few days later left on the roadside and their

places taken by the results of a fresh raid, industrious men plundered of all they had, rape, robbery and murder marked the progress of these ruffians.

At last the 5th Irregulars crossed the Soane. They had not gone very long when the approach from the south of the Ramghur Battalion began to cause alarm. Many of the men of this corps are recruited from the neighbourhood of Sherghotty, Gya, and other parts of the district. It seemed certain, from all I heard, that their intention was to come through Sherghotty to Gya. Our force here consisted of about 50 sick and wounded Seikhs, of whom not a dozen could walk, and 35 English of the 84th, of whom eight were sick and wounded. Clearly we could do nothing against the Ramghurrees if they came. To be ready to send off the treasure, therefore, I collected some elephants and had large strong bags made, capable of holding some thousands each. For the sick I ordered a quantity of doolies, and, as it was impossible to expect to get a sufficient number of bearers on a sudden emergency, I hired some hundred or so, and told the Seikhs they must take morning and evening airings for their health. They were delighted, and daily, till the 53rd smashed the Ramghurrees at Chuttra, a long line of doolies used twice a day to leave the billiard bungalow, then the Seikh hospital, with a freight of poor wounded and suffering men. At any moment they could have gone off and been half way to Patna before the Ramghurrees got sight of Gya.

It was evident that this district was to be the high road to mutineers from the east. In July I had pointed this out to Government and foretold that when they mutinied, the 5th Irregulars and the 32nd would take the favourite native road through Deoghur, Kurrukdeea, and Nowadah. The 5th chose it. Towards the end of October, three companies of the 32nd, having mutinied at Deoghur, followed in their steps. The marvellous, the providential folly which has characterized the whole mutiny, was the saving of these Provinces. Had the Dinapore Regiments, the Ramghur Battalion, the 5th Irregulars, and the 32nd gone together, nothing could for a time have withstood them. As soon as I knew of the mutiny at Deoghur, I directed the Deputy Magistrate at Nowadah to send in his hajut (or

under-trial) prisoners to Gya. The number amounted to nearly 300. You are aware, Sir, that immediately after the 5th Irregulars had crossed the Soane, Captain Rattray and every available Sikh was sent out of this district to Dehree on the Soane. By greatly enlarging the number of police, I had attempted to create a force sufficient to cope with the spirit of plunder and disaffection, still every now and then breaking out in isolated villages; but the martial Rajpoots and Brahmins of the interior were more than a match for a few burkandazes, and I was glad to accept your proffered aid of some of the Nujeebs' corps from Patna. The 40 men you sent had gone to Nowadah. As long as no mutinous soldiers were near, I felt I might trust them; but on hearing of the defection of the three companies of the 32nd, I determined to call them back, and with them the hajut prisoners. They arrived safely. The number of prisoners under trial in my jail exceeded 600, and as guard I had these 40 Nujeebs and a quantity of burkandazes. This was to me a time of great anxiety. A large number of prisoners under trial for offences involving the severest punishments—a very small guard—men whose brothers had released my jail once before and attempted my life—three companies of mutineers on the road to Gya and not far from it—and at Gya itself a heap of sick and wounded soldiers, with less than thirty men fit for duty,—all this constituted a heavy charge and a serious responsibility. I thought of sending away my entire jail in irons to some spot near the Grand Trunk Road. I had the irons prepared. I began again giving the Sikhs their morning and evening airing, when by telegraph I heard that Major English and his victorious 53rd were ordered up to Gya. It still seemed doubtful whether they or the mutineers, would be here first; the latter had got to Wazeergunge; 14 miles only separated us; Colonel English was 20 miles off at Sherghotty. I sent there a pressing message, and next day the glitter of English bayonets assured us all was safe. The mutineers now turned off from their westerly course and went north. Colonel English tried to cut them off at Jehanabad, but they gave him the slip and got away. Within a week they were followed by two other companies of the same regiment who had mutinied in the Rajmehal Hills. Against these latter we went on the 1st

of November. A thirty miles march brought us early to Huswa
—9 miles from Nowadah." * * * * *

After describing how the British troops pursued the rebels through the Nawáda subdivision and then round to the west through the southern portion of the Patna district and through the Jahánábád subdivision as far as the Son, Mr. Money says they lost sight of the rebels after a march of 130 miles in 4 days and 5 nights, and adds :—

" This was the last inroad of mutineers this district saw in 1857."

One or two conclusions have forced themselves upon me in connection with such inroads. The first is, the absence of truth in the general impression that mutineers always possess excellent information. I believe, on the contrary, that their information is most scanty and untrustworthy. The 5th Irregulars were not aware, till they had approached near, that Gya had been re-occupied by the Government authorities. Each body of mutineers which crossed the district was influenced in its march by false reports. The first batch of the mutinous 32nd avoided Jehanabad because they were told a force lay there in wait. Their march was by zig-zag, the villagers, to avoid their visitation, turning them out of the direct line by lies and erroneous information.

As to accurate information for myself, I never found any difficulty in getting it. No body of mutineers passed through this district without my knowing the numbers, the exact quantity of elephants or camels they had with them, and their line of march. The moment I heard of a mutiny having taken place, I laid two lines of runners along the road the enemy would take to enter the district. These lines extended to 20 and 30 miles outside my district. In addition to these, I had lines of runners to various points in the district, where I thought the mutineers would march, and to the neighbouring thanahs. The Darogahs had similar lines to places within their thanahs. All this cost a good deal of money, for I paid well, but the results were satisfactory.

It has been much the fashion amongst a certain class of English in Calcutta and at home to attribute the mutiny of 1857 in part to misrule of the Government, to our civil institutions and the mode in which they are said to press heavily upon

the people. I have taken pains to ascertain whether any foundation, however slight, existed for this assertion. As far as my own experience goes, it is entirely gratuitous. No sepoy in this district has ever excused his defection on any one of these pleas. Villagers and zemindars have questioned the Sepoys as to the reasons for their mutiny. Their answers have been many and various:—"Their religion was in danger,—it was intended to blow them away from guns—many of them had been hanged without cause, and they feared a like fate,—their pay was in arrears." These and similar ones were the grounds assigned, but among his many lies the Sepoy never was fool enough to bring forward the plea of oppressive institutions and hardship to the people. The ryot, from his own knowledge, would have laughed in his face had he done so. It remains with those who wish to make capital out of the events of the last year, to explain the mutiny upon grounds untouched by even the leaders of the mutiny. I look upon the absence of any such arguments on the part of the mutineers themselves as the strongest proof that the people do not feel our institutions oppressive. Had there been a chance of response in the great heart of the nation, the cry would have been an excellent one to appeal to the country with, and men like the Nana would not have neglected the chance. But he knew such a cry would have fallen flat and awakened no echo. It may excite the ignorant at a London public meeting, but the Indian prince and the Indian ryot heed it not. I cannot understand why the Sepoy should not be allowed to know his motives and reasons. He has proclaimed them loudly enough and in various ways, so that those who run may read. When upon throwing off his allegiance, he releases jails, plunders treasuries, and indulges in rape and rapine, he displays the vices of all pampered soldiery and shows his object to be unbridled license. When, whether mutinying at Chittagong or in the Punjab, he turns alike his steps to Delhi, he betrays the deep strength of the old traditional feeling still alive within; his straggles in Outh disclose a misguided patriotism; his murdered officers silently bear witness to the instinctive hatred of race; and when, as I have seen, a young lad with tears in his eyes confesses to having believed his religion in danger, it is plain how large a part of the history of 1857 religious fanaticism has to answer for. But the want of

arrangement, the absence of simultaneous action prove that there is no one broad common ground of complaint." * . *

I have, etc.,

A. MONEY.